1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

555 finely graded scale of social eminence. (See Plates 33–36.)

425 511 A married man received a plot of land directly from the clan or else took over his father's fields if the latter were too old to work. Diligent husbandry, eked out by making stone tools, pottery or practicing some such craft for barter, could produce a good living. Unmarried men helped their fathers and were able to add to their prestige by taking part in the numerous military campaigns.

[721] 555 Since the capture of victims for sacrifice was the chief glory of war, an able soldier who could subdue his enemies and drag them to the rear received much honor. According to the number of captives taken, a warrior had the right to wear an increasingly elaborate costume. Consistently successful warriors [575] could enter an order, like the Knights of the Eagle or the Ocelot (often referred to as Tiger), which performed special dances and rituals. Sometimes a warrior of unusual prowess received additional grants of land or more often obtained an increased portion of the clan's share of tribute. Having reached an established position by this means, he had a more important voice in clan councils and might attain a seat in the council itself. A special honorific, *tecuhtli* [554] (grandfather), which corresponds to chief among the North American Indians, distinguished these men. The title signified high social, but not official, rank, and from these men who had distinguished themselves by probity, bravery and religious observance, high elective and appointive posts were filled.[a]

● 624 In this stratum there were many positions of honor and influence, which, like petty political offices in small North American towns, were held in connection with some other means of livelihood. There were officials who kept order in the markets and tribunals which settled disputes in clan

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

affairs. Men of proven wisdom and experience taught the young in the *telpuchcalli*, or houses of youth. Others kept the records of tribute and wealth in the clan storehouses, superintended the distribution of this communal property and even went abroad to supervise its collection.

Each clan had its elected officers whose positions dominated the administration of the tribe. One official, the *calpullec*, performed the duties of secretary-treasurer and kept economic order within the kinship, drawing upon the members of the body for as much administrative assistance as his task required. Ranking with him, the *teochcautin* acted as sheriff, preserving social order and enforcing it. In wartime he commanded the military forces of the clan. Linking the clans to the tribe were the *tlatoani*, or "speakers," the supreme council, composed of a member from each clan and exercising judicial and directive functions. The wisest men and the most distinguished attained this post, for on them depended the well-being of the whole tribe. (See Plate 39, top right.)

Just as the clan had its executive officers, so this tribal body elected four officials who controlled the military forces of the four quarters, or phratries, into which the twenty clans were evenly divided. They maintained order among the clans and exercised tribal authority in disputes and crimes that could not be settled by the clan itself. Two were especially concerned with judicial matters; the third was an executioner, and the fourth acted as an intermediary between civil and military affairs.*

These four offices were the proving ground to test the abilities of the supreme chief and the religious leader. In Tlaxcala* it appears that they jointly exercised the executive

*Tlash-ca'-la.

3: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1951 NU7 Aztec NU7

seized [the game], all fell upon it. All that escaped did not yet die.[4]

And when they did this, thereupon they dispersed and all returned. And the captors yet remained and drew more [game]. And those who caught a deer or a coyote, those Moctezuma favored with capes whose edges were striped with feathers.

If one were a captor, one might array oneself [in it]. And if one were not a captor, one might only place [his cape] in a basket, or sell it. And Moctezuma offered the captors food, and they drank.

And when [game] had been slaughtered on Çacatepetl, thereupon all departed. They took with them only the heads, carrying them in their hands, dripping drops of blood. When they reached their homes, they hung up [the heads]. And they took Moctezuma there.

And when they went out upon the grass, then they offered paper vestments to as many as would die. For [the god] Tlamatzincatl, many of his bathed sacrificial victims were arrayed. For the second [god], Izquitecatl, either two or three. These the wine makers ceremonially bathed,[5] they who made wine for the great chief.

The third for whom they died was Mixcoatl and his consort, a woman named Yeuatl icue. Only two of them died. Only the majordomos secured [the victims]. And also those women, [each one named] Coatl icue, the wives of Tlamatzincatl and Izquitecatl—these also took upon their heads their paper array.

And when [the time] had come, when [it was] verily the feast of Quecholli, then the [space of] twenty days ended. Then went those who were to die, into the sand.[6] After midday, they then took them to the place where they would die. They took them in procession about the offering stone; they went in line. And when they came to encircle [the sacrificial stone], thereupon all came down [from the pyramid]. No more were they taken where they were guarded, but they took them there to the tribal temples. [There] they kept them in vigil all night, and watched and guarded them.

And when it was midnight, thereupon they took hair [from the crowns of their heads]. And when they had cut the hair, thereupon [their belongings] were burned. [If the captive was] a man, he burned

tecujcujtivecho, izquich in tematitlampa quiça, in aiamo imjquja.

Auh in ie iuhquj, njmã ie ic tlaxitinj, oalnecuepalo: auh in tlamanjme, oc ompa ommocaoa, oc tlamjctia: in aquin maçatl oc acic, anoço coiotl, quintlauhtia in Motecuçoma, tenjvivavanquj in tilmatli:

intla tlamanj, quimoquentiz: auh intlacamo tlamanj, çan quitlatiz tanaco, anoço quimonamaquiliz: yoan in tlamanjme quintlamaca in Motecuçoma, yoã atti.

Auh in ie iuhquj motlamjctiloc, in jcpac çacatepetl: njman ie ic viloatz, çaiio in intzontecon quioalhuivica intlan quimaana, chichipicativitz in ea.tli, in oacico inchachan, aco quinpipi'loa auh çan vmpa concaoa in Motecuçoma.

Auh in jquac çacapan quixooaia: iquac quinmacaia in imamatlatquj in jzquintin mjquizque: iehoatl in Tlamatzincatl, mjequintin mochichioaia, itlaaltilhoan: injc ome ichoatl in Izquitecatl, aço vmentin, anoço eintin: ichoan quimaltiaia in tlachicque, yoan in tecutlachique:

injquein, mjquja ichoatl in Mixcoatl, yoan inamjc cioatl, itoca: Jeoatl icue, çan omextin, çan calpixque in quinnextiaia: auh no ichoãtin in cioa, Coatl icue: in jnamjcoan Tlamatzincatl, yoan izquitecatl: no iquac quicuja in jmamatlatquj.

Aûh in oacic, in vel iquac ilhujtl, Quecholli injc tlamj cempoalli: vncã xalacoa, vncã xallaquj, in mjquizque: vmmotzcalo, in tonatiuh: mec quinvica in vmpa mjquizque: quimõiaoalochtia in techcatl, motecpantivi: auh in ocõiaoaloto, njmã ie ic oaltemo, aocmo vmpa vico in vmpa opicloia, ça vmpa quinvivica in incacalpulco, ceioal in quimtoçavia, quinpia, quinpipia.

Auh in ie onaci, ioalnepãtla: njmã ie ic tetzoncuiva: auh in oquimõtzoncuique, njmã ie ic motlatlatilia: in oquichtli, quitlatia, in jpan yoan itilma,

4. Bahamon in the corresponding Spanish text suggests that *que quedaron* might better be read *los despacharon*. Cf. also Baber (*op. cit.*, p. 199).
5. Cf. Andagoya and Hidalgo, *op. cit.*, p. 1, n. 5.
6. Cf. *supra*, p. 97, n. 7.

adultery. They accused him before Moctezuma, who then condemned him to be stoned before the people.

FOURTH PARAGRAPH, in which is discussed the council chamber of the brave warriors devoted to war.

Tequioacacalli or Quauhcalli: there were the brave warriors, the generals, and the commanding generals,[9] whose personal charge was command in war.

Achcauhcalli: there were the constables, the brave warriors who were the ruler's executioners. These who brought to an end [the life of] any upon whom sentence had fallen [were] the Quauhnochtli, Atempanecatl, and Tetzcacoacatl. And if they erred in something, they exacted the penalty of them and they died.

Cuicacalli: there were the masters of the youths and the rulers of the youths, there established in order to oversee what was by way of work. And every day, when the sun had already set, they turned their attention to dances. They went quite naked. So they went to the house of songs; so they danced with song, proceeding with, about their necks, only [a cape] made like a net. They set in place and proceeded with their forked heron feather ornaments and the red cord with which they bound their hair: and [they had] their turquoise ear plugs and sea shell lip pendants. All the youths, when they danced and sang, ceased when it was well into the night, when for the first time the fire priests and [other] priests blew the shell trumpets. None of [the youths] entered their homes; none slept at home. Rather, they went straight to the young men's houses, which were everywhere. There they slept, stretched out quite naked. Only little did they sleep. On the morrow, when it was still dark, they set forth, to lodge in the house of the ruler.

And when the ruler knew something ill of them—either drunkenness or concubinage;[10] or that they wrought something to their advantage behind the back of the ruler; [or] that without his command they levied tribute on the town, perchance of chocolate, or of food, which became a tribute, and it was done without leave, and [that] they exacted as tribute whatsoever they wished, then the ruler commanded that they be jailed in wooden cages. He condemned them to pay the penalty; perchance they strangled

pan motecuçuma, njman quioallatzontequjli, injc teixpan tetepacholoc.

IC NAUJ PARRAPHO, vncan mjtoa in jnnenonotzaia in tiacahoan in jpampa iaujotl.

Tequioacacalli, quauhcalli, vncan catca in tiacaoan tlacochcalcatl tlacatecatl, in jnneixcaujl iautequj:

Achcauhcalli vncan catca in achcacauhti in tiacahoan in jtemjcticaoan catca tlatoanj, iehoantin qujtzonqujxtiaia in aquin tlein ipan omotzontec, quauhnochtli, atempanecatl, tetzcacoacatl, auh in jtla qujtlacoaia, qujtzacutiuja mjquja.

Cujcacalli, vncan catca in tiachcahoan, in telpuchtlatoque vncan tlatecpanoaia injc qujchiaia tlein tequjtl, auh in momuztlae, in jquac ie calaquj tonatiuh: tlamaçeoaliztli ipan quimatia, çan petlauhtiuja, injc viia cujcacali, injc oncujcoanoaia çanijo inquech in onactiuja, iuhquin matlatl ic tlachiuhtli, imaztaxel conmantiuj, tochacatl injc quilpia intzonchichilicpatl: ioan ixiuhnacoch, ioan intempilol eptli, ixquich in telpuchtli in oncujcoanoia icoac necaoaloia in tlaquauh tlapoiaoa, in jcoac iancujcan tlapitzaia tlenamacaque tlamacazque, amo ac ichan calaquja, amo ac ichan oncochia, ca njman vmpa tlamelaoaia, in noujian telpuchcalli mamanca: in oncan cochia, çan pepetlauhtoca, çan achi in conecochia, momoztlae in oc iohoan quiça in ontecpanoa, yn ichan tlatoanj.

Auh in jcoac itla quinmachilia in tlatoanj, açotlaoanaliztli, anoço nemecatiliztli, anoço itla icampaquiquixtia, in tlatoanj: in amo itencopa, itla quitequitia in calla açotl, tlaqualli tequipan iecauj, moiocoia, quitetequitia injc intech monequj, njman tlanaoatia in tlatoanj, quauhcalco quintlalia, quintlatzontequjlia, injc quitzacutiui, açotl quinmecanja, anoço quintetepachoa, anoço quauhtica quinujuitequj teixpan, injc mjctilo, injc maujztli quiteca tlatoanj.

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9. Tlacochcalcatl, tlacatecatl: see Sahagún, op. cit., III, p. 27; Jones, op. cit., p. 79; Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II, p. 102, n. 3; III, pp. 57-58.
10. After nemecatiliztli, the Real Academia de la Historia MS has amoço nehuecauhtech—or adultery.

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

them with a cord, or they stoned them, or before the people they beat them with wooden [staves], so that they were slain. Thus the ruler implanted fear.[11]

FIFTH PARAGRAPH, where is told how they stored all the food.

Petlacalco: there was stored all the food. Dried maize grains thus were kept in wooden grain bins; more than two thousand [measures of] grains of dried maize—a store of twenty years for the city. And in wooden storage bins were dried beans, chía, amaranth seeds, wrinkled chía, salt jars, coarse salt, baskets of chilis, baskets of squash seeds, and large squash seeds. And there was kept the jail, the wooden cage,[12] where they imprisoned and confined evildoers.

IC MACUJLLI PARRAPHO: vncan mjtoa injquipiaia in jxqujch qualonj.

Petlacalco, vncan mopiaia, in jxqujch qualonj, in tlaolli, injc mopiaia quauhquezcomatl, amo çan macujltzontli, vncatca tlaolli: cempoalxiuhcaiotl, in jtetzon altepetl, ioan quauhcuezcontica mamanca in etl, in chian, in onuhtli, in chiantzotzol, iztacomjtl, iztaxalli, chilpetlatl, aiooachpetlatl, quauhaiooachtli: ioan vncan mopiaia in teilpilcalli, quauhcalli, in vncan qujmjlpiaia, qujncaltzaquaia tlatlacoanj.

SIXTH PARAGRAPH, in which is described the house of the majordomos and stewards.

Calpixcalli:[13] or Texancalli: there assembled all the majordomos and tribute gatherers. There they were lodged [to await the command of the ruler, (lest) he require something, or] to bring down and put in order that which was their trust as tributes, [and there they arranged in order the various foods] which every day they gave the ruler. And if the ruler knew something ill of a majordomo, perchance of something he stole from the tributes; or that all his charge, the tributes, perhaps did not equal the correct count when all his store was tallied and examined; then he jailed the majordomo in a wooden cage; he exacted the penalty, that he die. Then he cast out his women [and his children from his home]. Then quickly the house of the majordomo was closed up, and all his goods remained in the house. All belonged to the ruler.

IC CHIQUACEN PARRAPHO, vncã mjtoa: in jnchan mayordomos in calpixque.

Calpixcalli, texancalli, vncã cenqujçaia: in jxqujch calpixquj, ioan tequjtquj, vncan tecpanoaia injc [quitlatolchixticatca tlatoani, aço tlein quinequiz, aço] tlein qujtemoz qujcencauhticatca, in tlein inpiel tlacalaqujlli, [yoan uncan quicenquixtiaya y nepapan tlaqualli,] in momoztlae qujmacaia tlatoanj. Auh intla tlatoanj, itla qujmachili, ce calpixquj, aço itla qujcaoalchioa tlacalaqujlli: ioan in jxqujch in jpiel, in tlacalaqujlli: acaçomo caçi in tlapoalizcli: in jcoac mopoa, mocxitoca, in jxqujch in jpiel; njman quauhcalco qujtlalia, in calpixquj: qujtzacutiuh, mjquj, njman qujnqujxtia, in jçioahoan [yoan in ipilhoan yn ichan]: njman içiubca motzaqua, in jcal calpixquj ioan in jxqujch in jtlatquj, calitic onoc: moch itech compoã tlatoanj.

Coacalli: there were established all the lords from everywhere—friends of the ruler, and all the lords unfriendly to him. He gave and bestowed upon them all manner of costly goods: valuable capes and breech clouts, golden lip plugs, golden ear plugs, green stone lip plugs, green stone necklaces, and green stone bracelets.

Coacalli vncan tecpanoaia, in jxqujchtin, noujian tlatoque: in jicnjhoan tlatoanj, ioan in jxqujchtin, iiauhoan tlatoque: qujnmacaia, qujntlauhtiaia, in jxqujch tlaçotli, in tlaçotilmatli, in tlaçomaxtlatl, in teucujtlatentetl, in teucujtlanacochtli, in chalchiuhtentetl, in chalchiuhcozcatl, in chalchiuhmacuextli.

11. At the end of this paragraph, the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS contains an account of the Colmecac, which is lacking in the *Florentine Codex*. (See Appendix A.)

12. *Teilpilcalli, quauhcalli*: Orozco y Berra, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 268-269, writes: "*Las prisiones eran de dos especies. La llamada teilpilcyan, lugar de presos, en que estaban detenidos los delincuentes de penas leves; el cuauhcalli, casa de madera, especie de jaula fuerte de vigas, en que se guardaba los condenados á la muerte y prisioneros de guerra destinados al sacrificio.*"

13. In the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS, three passages appear which are not in the *Florentine Codex*. Because they change the sense to a degree, they are here inserted in brackets.

577 And he who took no captive with others' help
578 when, perchance, he had returned three or four times
701 to the wars, they called "Big tuft of hair over the back of the head." And if this was so said of him, he was much ashamed of it. Wherefore he cast himself [into the fray] in order to take a captive with others' aid.

Auh in aquin amo tepallama in aço ic cepa anoço ic nappa ylotl in inoc quinocixtia cuenpalchicacpul auh in iuh ipan mitoa y ic pinaua, quin icoac tecu motemotla inic tepallama.

729 And if he made a captive with the help of others,
577 then his head was pasted with feathers. And he who then did not take a captive with the aid of others might not remove his lock of hair; neither was his head pasted with feathers. Thus was his hair shorn: it was cut like a ring-shaped carrying pad; they shaved only the crown of his head.

Auh intla tepal otlama icoac mopotonia, auh in aquin çan niman amo tepallama, amo uel mocaccpallaça amoxo mopotonia, inic mixima moquaiacalxima çaniio inicon nepantla quichichiqui.

And [whether] worldly goods and riches were his lot, or he was only poor, yet if his back tuft of hair had been removed, he never took, and never did they [292] place upon him, an embroidered cape, [but] only another small, white, maguey fiber cape, and his small breech clout.

Auh im aço ic imaccauhti in tlalticpacaiotl, in neçuiltonolli, auh anoço can motolinia auh inomocuepallan aic tle quicui, aic tle itech quitlalia tlamacho tilmatli çan oc ce in itzac in ichtilmatzon itzac in imaxtlaton,

And he who had acted indeed alone and had taken captives, if he took one, was therefore named a leading youth and a captor. And when this came to pass, then they took him before Moctezuma, there at the palace. And by his command he was then stained [302 with yellow ochre; his face was colored with red 386] ochre. They applied it to all of his face. And the majordomos of Moctezuma anointed his temples with yellow ochre.[1]

auh i aquin uel oquimixcaui otlama in oce cacic ic motocaiotia telpochtiaqui tlamani. Auh in iquac y quinicoac ipan quinica in motecuçoma in umpa tlatocân. Auh itencopa inic motecuçauhtiltia mixtlapalhoatzalhuia quicemaquia in itxiac, auh in icamaocan quitecuzauhtuia in icalpixcahoan motecuçoma.

And at that time Moctezuma granted him favors; [143 he gave him an orange cape with a striped border 242] and a scorpion design to bind on, and a carmine colored breech clout with long ends, and a breech clout of many colors.[2] And then he began to wear capes with designs.

Auh quinicoac quitlauhtia in motecuçoma in quimaca camopaltenoxcanqui ioan centetl cololtalpilli ioan centetl nochpalmaxtlatl iacaxiac ioan centetl centzonmaxtlatl tlatlapalli, auh icoac compeoaltia in tlacuiloltilmatli quiquemi.

And when he had taken two, likewise they took him there before Moctezuma, at the palace, and likewise his gifts were provided as hath been told.

Auh inic ome caci çan no umpa quiuica in ipan motecuçoma in tlatocan auh çan no iuhqui in inetlauhtil mochioaia in omito.

● 624 And when he captured three, likewise his gifts
729 were provided, and he took [the office] of, and they
861 established him as, a master of the youths, a leading
561 youth. He entered a place of dignity, the young men's house, there to nurture and rear [them]. There he reared the young men, there where there was song and dance at night, there in the song house.

Auh inic ei caci çan ie no iuhqui in inetlauhtil mochioa, auh oncan canaia in quitiachcauhtecatia in telpochtiaqui quicalaquiaia inuchican in telpochcali inic umpa tlacaxapaco tlacanxcaltia umpa quimixcaltia in telpopochti, on cuicoianoaia in icalitca in umpa cuicacali.

1. Following quitecuzauhtia, the Real Academia de la Historia MS has yuan umpa quinpantzinco and these they pasted feathers on their heads. This passage is missing in the Florentine Codex.

2. The corresponding Spanish text reads: "unas mantas coloradas de color naranjado y otras amarillas labradas, de unas colores labores de colorado que se llaman colochpalli; y . . . un mantle labrado de colorado, largo que estuuiesse hasta enbaxo, y otro mantle labrado de muchos colores."

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

assumption, frequently made, that the Mexicans were divided into two distinct clusters at the outset.

A council of chiefs, representing the seven kins meeting on equal terms, composed the government of the ancient Mexicans at that period of their history. Among these, occasional "old men" of particular ability loom up as leading advisers. But no permanent general office of an executive nature is mentioned; although even occasional braves acquired historical prominence through their deeds of valor and of sagacity.[36]

But, while the organization was thus amply sufficient for the needs of a straggling band, Indian worship or "medicine" (as the native term implies) represented, inside of that organization, the lingering remains of what we have already suggested to be the oldest aboriginal clusters of society. Corresponding to the *four* original kins of the QQuiché, to the *four* leading days of the calendar with the traditions attached to their origin, we find among the ancient Mexicans at that period *four* chief medicine men, or "old men," who at the same time are "carriers of the God."[37]

[36] "*Tenure of Lands*" (P. 398 and 399, Notes 21 and 22). In addition to the authorities quoted there, I refer to: *Gomara* ("*Conquista de Méjico*" Vedia I, p. 431). "y dicen que no trajeron señores, sino capitanes." (Idem p. 433. "De los reyes de Méjico"). *Motolinia* ("Epistola proémial," p. 5). "aunque se sabe que estos Mexicanos fueron los postreros, y que no tuvieron señores principales, mas de qué se gobernaron por capitanes." —*Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXXIV, p. 148). "Dicen que el èjército mexicano trajo por caudillos ò capitanes diez principales que los regian, ... Entre estos eligieron, luego como hicieron su asiento, por rey y principal señor á Tenuch." *Torquemada*. (Lib. II, cap. I, p. 78; cap. XII, pp. 94 and 95).

The fact of the election of the *first* so-called "King" of the ancient Mexicans, so generally acknowledged that no evidence of it is needed, is proof enough that, previous to it, the government of the Mexicans was at least, not monarchical. The words of Torquemada, (p. 94, vol. I.) "Dicese, que aviendo pasado veinte y siete años, que se governaban en comun, los unos, y los otros, les tomó gana de eligir Rey, ..." are plain enough.

Aside from the "leaders" (caudillos) of the Kins frequently mentioned, occasional war-chiefs or directing braves turn up during this period of their wandering existence. Thus, a chief whom they called "Mexi" is mentioned by *Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. IV. p. 460), *Sahagun* (Lib. X, cap. XXIX, p. 138 and 139), *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. II, cap. X. p. 90); and another very famous warrior, "Humming Bird." (Huitzilihuitl) led the Mexicans during their fray with the valley-tribes at Chapultepec, losing his life in the sally by which they broke through their surrounding enemies. *Durán* (Cap. III, p. 27; IV, 30). *Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. V, p. 463). *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. III, p. 92; IV, p. 84; Lib III, cap. XXII, p. 289). *Vetancurt* (Parte IIa, Trat. Io, cap. IX, p. 281; cap. X, p. 285 and 286). *Granados y Galvez* (*Tarde Quinta*, p. 151). *Veytia* (Lib. II, cap. XII, p. 97; cap. XIII, p. 110; cap. XIV, p. 116. 124; cap. XV. p. 130 and 131). He affirms that "Humming Bird" was the first "King of the Mexicans," which, however, is expressly disproved by other authors.

[37] *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica*" cap. I, p. 6), mentions the four old men who carried the so-called sister of Huitzilopochtli, "y á esto dijo Tlamacazqui Huitzilopochtli á los viejos

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

It seems to indicate, that as relics of four very ancient kins, a kind of superstitious ("standing over") deference was paid to them, implying a voice and vote in the councils of the tribe.[38]

que la solian traer cargada, (que se llamavan Quauhtlonquetzque, y Axolos el segundo, y el tercero llamado Tlamacazqui Cuauhcoatl, y el cuarto Cococaltzin"). (Cap. III. p. 8), at Chapultepec "y alli les habló Huitzilopochtli á los sacerdotes, que son nombrados Teomamaques, cargadores del dios, que eran Cuauhtloquetzqui, Axolos, Tlamacazqui y Acocalitzin, á estos cargadores de este idolo, llamados sacerdotes, les dijo."—*Durán* (Cap. III. p. 21): Llegados a aquel lugar de *Puzcuaro*, viéndole tan apacible y alegre, consultaron á su dios los sacerdotes y philéronia: . . . . . el dios *Vitzilopochtli* respondió á sus sacerdotes, en sueños . . . " These words repeat themselves almost, several times in cap. IV, V, and VI. Finally he is very positive, (Cap. VI. p. 46), "con los quatro ayos de *Vitzilopochtli*, los quales le vian visiblemente y lo hablaban, que se llamanan *Cuauhtloquetzqui*, el segundo *Ococatl* el tercero *Chachalatli* y el cuarto *Axolcua*, los quales eran como ayos, padres, amparo y reparo de aquella gente," *Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. IV. p. 459), "Con esto salieron llevando á su ydolo metido en una arca de juncos, la qual llevavan quatro Sacerdotes principales, con quien el se communicava, y dezia en secreto los successos de su camino auisandoles lo que les auia de suceder, dandoles leyes, y enseñandoles ritos y ceremonias, y sacrificios. No se mouian un punto sin parecer y mandato deste ydolo." *Herrera* (Dec. III. lib. II, cap. X, p. 90). "Llevaron este Idolo en una Arca de Juncia en hombros de quatro Sacerdotes, los quales enseñaban los Ritos, i Sacrificios, i daban Leies, i sin su parecer no se movian en nada." Besides these specifically and exclusively Mexican sources, to which others will be added hereafter, the fact of these four chief-medicine men "tlamacazqui" from "tlama"—medicine-man, (*Molina* II, p. 135), is proven by authors who rather incline to the texcucan side. *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. I, p. 78), "y ordenó, que quatro de ellos, fuesen sus ministros, para lo qual, fuéron nombrados Quauhcouuatl, Apanecatl, Tezcacohuatl, Chimalman," (Lib. VI, cap. XXI, p. 41, but especially Lib. IX. cap. XIX, p. 206). "De los primeros Mexicanos, que vinieron á estas Tierras, sabemos, que no traxeron Rei, ni otro Caudillo particular (contra los que tienen, ó afirman lo contrario) sino que venian regidos de los Sacerdotes, y ministros del Demonio; sobre cuios hombros venia la Imagen del Dios Huitzilupuchtli, y á los consejos, y determinaciones de estos ministros eran obedecientes." The most explicit of all, however, is again *Veytia* (Lib. II, cap. XII, p. 93). At the death of Huitziton, "y aqui fué donde empezaron las embustes de los viejos y sacerdotes que con mas inmediacion trataban á Huitziton; porque, ó concebido ya el ambicioso deseo de quedarse con el mando del pueblo, ó para disminiurle á este el dolor que debia causarle tan gran pérdida, ..." (p. 94). "Esto es el origen de la famosa deidad Huitzilopuchtli," (p. 99), here Veytia is in error in stating that *Texcomoc* reports that the four priests were left with Malinalxochitl in Malinalco. This author mentions them again at Chapultepec, "*Crónica*," (Cap. III. p. 8). Further on (Cap. XIII, p. 102), "Yo me persuado á que es distinto, que Ocelopan y sus tres compañeros fueron los cuatro Tlamacazquis que fingieron el embuste del rapto de Huitziton," (p. 109), he says that the "old priests" opposed the election of a head-war-chief ("rey") "por no dejar el mando." (Also Cap XV, p. 131.)

It results from these statements, that the four "Carriers of the God" indeed exercised, or at least claimed some governmental power. In tribal society such power can only come through some *kin*, hence the four "medicine-men" represented four very old clans or relationships, whose names even may have been lost, whereas the former power "stood over," in the form of a participation of "medicine" or worship in the tribal business. I here recall the important utterance of *Boturini* ("*Idea*," pp. 111 and 112 of § XVI), "como fué costumbre de los Indios poner muy pocas Figuras en los mapas, baxo de cuya sombra se hallan numerosos Pueblos, y gentes; y assi dichos siete Tultécos, cuyos nombres refiere el mencionada Don Fernando, se entiende haver sido siete principales Cabezas de dilatados Parentescos, que se escondian baxo los